

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8439

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 3837

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR PINT IS

SUBJECT: DAYAN ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND ISRAELI POLITICS

REF: TEL AVIV 3673

SUMMARY. IN TWO INTERVIEWS DURING THE PAST WEEK, DAYAN HAS EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IF JORDAN WERE TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL NOW, IT COULD PROBABLY STILL GET TERRITORIAL SOLUTION ALONG LINES OF ALLON PLAN. DAYAN ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH HE BELIEVED CABINET MAJORITY WOULD GO ALONG WITH SUCH TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENT, HE HIMSELF WOULD OPPOSE IT. DAYAN SAID HE FELT THAT ENTIRE AREA SHOULD BE UNDER ISRAELI SECURITY CONTROL, BUT THAT ITS INHABITANTS SHOULD VOTE IN JORDAN. HE SAID ISRAEL HAS TWO INTERESTS IN WEST BANK, SETTLEMENT AND SECURITY, AND IF THESE CAN BE ASSURED, HE WOULD NOT OBJECT TO ARAB SOVEREIGNTY IN WEST BANK (ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT INDICATE HOW LARGE AN AREA HE MEANT). TURNING TO SINAI, DAYAN SAID EGYPT SHOULD NOT GET BACK "STRAITS OF AQABA" (PRESUMABLY MEANING AQABA COASTLINE), SHARM EL-SHEIKH, OR GAZA AND ADDED HE FELT CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE ALL ALONG PRE-1967 BORDER. DAYAN ALSO MADE CLEAR

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HIS AVERSION TO ANY KIND OF DEMILITARIZATION OF SINAI UNDER INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. TURNING TO HIS OWN POLITICAL PROSPECTS, DAYAN REPORTEDLY SAID HE COULD SERVE UNDER SAPIR AS PRIME MINISTER IF SAPIR'S POLICIES WERE ACCEPTABLE. HOWEVER, HE IMPLIED THAT SAPIR WOULD NOT PROPOSE POLICIES ACCEPTABLE TO DAYAN AND WOULD CHOOSE A MORE AMENABLE DEFENSE MINISTER. END SUMMARY.

1. IN COURSE OF MAY 9 INTERVIEW WITH ISRAELI STUDENTS AND AGAIN IN MAY 14 INTERVIEW TELEVISED IN ENGLAND OVER BBC, MOSHE DAYAN COMMENTED ON PEACE WITH ARABS, OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND ISRAELI POLITICS. (FOLLOWING IS BASED ON PRESS SUMMARIES OF STUDENT INTERVIEW AND PUBLISHED EXCERPTS FROM TRANSCRIPT OF BBC INTERVIEW.)

2. PEACE WITH ARABS: ASKED WHY HE DID NOT THINK ARABS WANT TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL, DAYAN TOLD BBC INTERVIEWER: " THE (ARAB) LEADERS DO NOT WANT PERSONALLY TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL.... THE FEELING OF THE ARAB PEOPLE IS IT IS EITHER THEM OR US, IT IS AS BAD AS THAT."

3 . BORDERS: BBC INTERVIEWER ASKED DAYAN'S VIEW ON BORDERS AND WAS TOLD: " I DO NOT THINK THAT MOST OF THE LAND, AS FAR AS SYRIA IS CONCERNED, CAN OR SHOULD BE GIVEN BACK. THAT IS TO SAY, THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. JORDAN CAN, I THINK, TAKE THE ALLON PLAN AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. THEY KNOW THAT FOR INSTANCE THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL WOULD SUPPORT SUCH A PLAN, IF THE JORDANIANS ACCEPT IT AS A PEACE MAP." ASKED IF HE PERSONALLY WOULD SUPPORT IT, DAYAN SAID: " NO, I WILL NOT." AS FOR EGYPT, DAYAN SAID: " THEY SHOULD NOT EXPECT BACK THE STRAITS OF AQABA, SHARM EL- SHEIKH, AND I THINK THAT SOME CHANGES SHOULD TAKE PLACE ALL ALONG THE BORDER OF THE OLD LINES. THEY SHOULD NOT EXPECT BACK GAZA."

4. DEMILITARIZATION OF SINAI: ASKED ON BBC IF HE WOULD INSIST ON DEMILITARIZATION, DAYAN SAID : " I PERSONALLY WILL NOT. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT ' DEMILITARIZATION' IS AND WHO WOULD TAKE CARE OF IT, AND I WOULD NOT LIKE AT ALL ANY FOREIGN FORCES TO BE HERE." AS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE, DAYAN SAID: " I WOULD RULE IT OUT. I WOULD RATHER HAVE THE EGYPTIANS COMING CLOSE TO OUR FORCES THAN ANYBODY IN BETWEEN. I WOULD RATHER HAVE THEM COVERING THE UNCLASSIFIED

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DISTANCE, DEMILITARIZED OR NOT, THAN HAVE ANYBODY IN BETWEEN, INTERNATIONAL FORCES, SO- CALLED."

5. OCCUPIED TERRITORIES: SPEAKING ABOUT FUTURE OF PALESTINIANS RESIDENT IN WEST BANK, DAYAN SAID: " I THINK THAT THEIR FUTURE IS HERE (ISRAEL), BUT THEIR CAPITAL IS IN JORDAN." HE ADDED: " IF THEY MUST HAVE A CAPITAL, IT CANNOT BE IN JERUSALEM,

WHICH IS ISRAEL." A PERPLEXED BBC INTERVIEWER ASKED HOW THIS COULD BE AND DAYAN RESPONDED: " JUST ASK THEM (PALESTINIANS) WHAT IS BETTER FOR THEM FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW, WHETHER TO STAY ARAB AND HAVE JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVE IN AMMAN, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE LIVING UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL. THEY WOULD RATHER HAVE IT THIS WAY." DAYAN CONTINUED: " THE QUESTION NOW IS WHETHER TO FIND SOME SETTLEMENT WITH THE ARABS IN THE WEST BANK BY WHICH THEY WOULD STAY JORDANIAN AND WE WOULD HAVE OUR AMBITIONS FULFILLED. THEY (THE AMBITIONS) ARE MAINLY TWO: ONE IS TO HAVE OUR RIGHTS TO SETTLE DOWN THERE. I KNOW IT SOUNDS SENTIMENTAL WHEN I SAY THAT THIS IS OUR HOMELAND. WE CAN BE EXPELLED FROM THERE, WE CAN BE BEATEN BY WAR, BUT I JUST CANNOT IMAGINE HOW WE WOULD GIVE IT UP BY OUR OWN DECISION AND SAY JEWS WILL NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO SETTLE DOWN NEAR HEBRON... I DO THINK THAT ISRAEL SHOULD STAY FOR EVER AND EVER AND EVER AND EVER IN THE WEST BANK BECAUSE THIS IS JUDEA AND SAMARIA. THIS IS OUR HOMELAND."

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6. DURING PRIOR INTERVIEW WITH ISRAELI STUDENTS, DAYAN, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, HAD ALSO SAID THAT IF ISRAEL'S TWO AMBITIONS, SETTLEMENT AND SECURITY WERE ASSURED, HE WOULD NOT OBJECT TO ARAB SOVEREIGNTY THERE. HE ADDED THAT ARABS ARE NO WORSE OFF AND ARE ACTUALLY BETTER OFF FROM ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW BECAUSE OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HOWEVER, HE REPORTEDLY ADMITTED THAT JEWISH STATE HAD

INEVITABLY COME AT EXPENSE OF NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF ARABS IN ISRAEL. DAYAN ALSO TOLD STUDENTS THAT HE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO HEBRON'S MAYOR, SHEIKH MOHAMMED ALI JAABARI, BUYING A PLOT IN TEL AVIV SUBURB ZAHALA (WHERE DAYAN LIVES). HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, THIS IS NOT THE PRINCIPAL ISSUE. QUESTION IS WHETHER OR NOT ISRAEL SHOULD AGREE TO RETURN OF THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES. DAYAN REPORTEDLY COMMENTED: " IF WE DO, ISRAEL WOULD CAESE TO EXIST." HE CONCLUDED THAT REFUGEE PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED IN ARAB STATES, WHATEVER THE FINANCIAL COST (PRESUMABLY TO ISRAEL).

7. INTERNAL POLITICS: DURING BOTH INTERVIEWS DAYAN DEALT WITH QUESTION OF SUCCESSION. TO ISRAELI STUDENTS HE SAID HE COULD JOIN A GOVERNMENT HEADED BY FINANCE MINSTER PINHAS SAPIR

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IF HE FOUND THAT HE COULD AGREE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL PLATFORM. " FOR ME, THE QUESTION IS NOT OF PERSONALITIES, BUT OF POLICIES. IF THE GOVERNMENT ADOPTS A POLICY I CAN LIVE WITH, I SHALLBE READY TO SERVE UNDER SAPIR OR ANYBODY ELSE." BUT TO BBC INTERVIEWER DAYAN SAID: " I DO NOT REPRESENT THE MAJORITY OF THE PARTY. I AM NOT THEIR FAVORITE. I AM NOT THEIR LEADER, AND I AM NOT THEIR CANDIDATE FOR PRIME MINISTER." ASKED IF HE WOULD BE IN GOVERNMENT IF NEW PRIME MINISTER OFFERED A POLICY DAYAN DID NOT LIKE, DAYAN REPLIED: " NO, AND HE WILL NOT OFFER IT TO ME, AND HE WILL HAVE A DIFFERENT MINISTER OF DEFENSE THAT WOULD SEE THINGS ACCORDING TO HIS POLICY."

8. DAYAN WAS ASKED IF HE WOULD ENJOY BEING PRIME MINISTER AND TOLD BBC INTERVIEWER: " NO, I AM SURE NOT. THE WAY I SEE THE KIND OF LIFE AND WHAT PRIME MINISTERS DEAL WITH, IT IS VERY FOREIGN TO ME. I HAVE AN AMBITION NOT TO BE PRIME MINISTER, BUT IT IS NOT JUST A QUESTION OF AMBITION. JUST NOW I DO NOT THINK THAT ANYBODY WILL ASK ME. HAD THERE BEEN A SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY THAT I WOULD HAVE BEEN CALLED UPON TO BE A PRIME MINISTER, I DO NOT THINK I WOULD HAVE REJECTED IT RIGHT AWAY, JUST BECAUSE THIS IS NOT EXACTLY MY LINE, OR CUP OF TEA. IT IS NOT THAT SIMPLE, WHETHER YOU LIKE IT OR YOU DO NOT LIKE IT, LIKE FOOD."

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